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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the communication patterns (that is, talking of individual experiences and knowledge of other's experiences) of Holocaust related issues in the families of survivors and investigates the consequences of these patterns as reflected in the descendants' knowledge about the Holocaust and their attitudes toward its survivors. A comparision was made between 15 families whose parents were imprisioned in a concentration camp, and 15 families whose parents were involved in active resistance during World War 2. Both parents and first-born children were interviewed by means of a structured interview. The results indicate that communication on Holocaust related issues is more acceptable in families of ex-partisans. Children of ex-partisans have more knowledge about the Holocaust and express more positive attitudes toward the survivors. The implications of these findings for the understanding of the psychological consequences of massive psychic traumas are discussed. (Author/MP)

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Sharing the Holocaust Experience: A Comparison of Communication Patterns in Two Groups of Survivors

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Abstract

The present study explores communication patterns and their consequences (i.e. attitudes and knowledge in families who survived the Holocaust. A comparision was made between fifteen families whose parents were imprisioned in a concentration camp, and fifteen families whose parents were involved in active resistance during World War 2. Both parents and first-born child were interviewed by means of structured interview. The results indicate that communication on Holocaust related issues is more legitimate in families of ex-partisans. Related to that, children of ex-partisans have more knowledge about the Holocaust and express more positive attitudes toward the survivors. The implications of these findings for the understanding of the psychological consequences of massive psychic traumas are discussed.

One of the phenomena of man's behavior towards man both terrifying and difficult to comprehend has been the extermination of Jewish population in Europe during World War II. Yet the psychological consequences of this phenomenon has not been systematically investigated. Most of the reports draw on clinical case studies and autobiographies (e.g. Eitinger 1963, 1973, Krystal 1968, 1971, Epstein 1979). The question of now extensive are the long term effects of this massive psychic traumatization remains unanswered. This is even more the case with regard to the effects of the Holocaust on the descendants of its survivors.

The scarcity of systematic, non-clinical studies of the effects of the Holocaust may be seen as one of the manifestations of the conspiracy of silence that has surrounded this subject. The first to break the silence were the clinicians in their role as helping professionals with its positive connotations. These connotations do not exist in the case of the the scientists. Their apersonal, abjective, approach to an experience such as the Holocaust may seem to be sacrilageous, and may therefore imply intrusion, probing, hurting without the absolution of helping.

Notwithstanding these and other difficulties systematic study of the effects of the Holocaust is imperative especially in light of the impressions recently voiced by clinicians (e.g. Davidson 1977, Sigal et al 1973) that the ill effects transgress generations as witnesses by the number of children of survivors who seek psychiatric help.

The present study focuses on the communication patterns of Holocaust related issues in the families of survivors. Further, the consequences of these patterns as reflected in the descendants knowledge about the Holocaust and their attitudes toward its survivors are investigated.

Verbal communication is one of the most potent tools of socialization. Among others it provides the developing person with societal norms and values, it conveys to the child the expectations of his/her family and peers and it allows her/him to get to know the parents not only as they are in the present, but also as they were in the past. Besides providing information and knowledge verbal communication can be very influential in transmitting attitudes often by the very fact of avoiding certain content areas.

Many of the survivors' families were formed shortly after the war as marriages of despair, based on loss and loneliness with an almost total disregard for the ordinary criteria for marriage such as life-style, economic or educational status. The recreation of the family was an act of compensation, the birth of a child symbolized the renewal of life and the victory over the Nazis. (Danieli 1980). The attempts of the survivors' families to maintain continuity which had been so totally disrupted by war, often took the form of consciously or unconsciously, expecting their offspring to replace the lost relatives, and their own frustrated aspirations. The offsprings seem to introjected these ambitions as illustrated by their pronounced need to "be something". They also seem to have absorbed their parents' Holocaust experience into their lives as witnessed by reported panic and psychic mobilization when confronted with daily experiences such as waiting in a line for their names to be called which triggered off Holocaust associations. (Epstein 1979)

These feelings were primarily transmitted by the home atmosphere in the survivors' families which was characterized by pervasive depression, fear and mistrust of the outside world, an intense level of apprehensions,

intrusiveness and almost total lack of privacy. (Denieli 1980)

Some manifestations of affective blocking, and psychic constriction which might have been the only means of survival during the Holocaust may also be found in the families of the survivors. Phenomenologically experienced are emotional inertness, decreased capacity for affect and for tolerance of the affect expressed by their own children. Alexandrovich 1973 reports the descendants feeling of emotional inability to verbalize fears or anger because it was actively discouraged by the mother. The realm of affect was not the only one perceived as restricted. In many cases it included taboo on touching on the parent's Holocaust related past. "It was a strange feeling not to be a le to ask questions when there were so many I wanted to ask" Epstein (1979 p.14). The emotional load of the Holocaust was such that the children had difficulty not only in asking but also in listening and remembering.

The difficulties of the children only partially reflect the more complex and severe difficulities in communication on the part of the parents. The already mentioned psychic constriction of the parent's was accompanied in many cases by an inability to communicate their traumatic experiences. This inability might have taken various forms. The two most often reported are isolation of affect or total silence. Helen Epstein (1979) describes "If by chance someone asked a question about this time... his voice would taper off, his eyes would grow vague and he would lapse into silence staring into space" (p.143). "My mother... would resume her narrative. Her face showed no emotion when she talked. The words poured our of her like blood

but they no longer seemed connected to anything else she had experienced. It was was happened, and there was no feeling attached." Both isolation and silence acted as defences for the parents, even though the silence was often rationalized as a wish to protect children from pain and ensure their normality.

The survivor's difficulties in sharing the Holocarst experiences were strengthened by similar rationalization on the part of listeners not related in any way with the Holocause. War accounts of the survivors were too horrifying for most people to believe or even to listen to. Even these who were campassionately interested in avoided the subject intellectualizing with the logic that their questionscould be too painful for the survivor (Daniel1980).

The present study attempts to systematically investigate the patterns of communication, in the families of the survivors, and the knowledge and attitudes towards the Holocaust of the descendants of the survivors. An additional contribution of this study is to relate differences in the war time experience of the survivors to the above mentioned variables.

No such distinction has been previously made, and the term Holocaust survivor has been either all-inclusive or synonomous with concentration camp experience. Yet there are survivors whose life, by choice or by chance, took a course characterized by active coping. This could take the form of resisting the dehumanizing effects of Nazism by keeping human spirit and values alive and/or by actively fighting the Nazis.

Klein(1976a) reports differences in present defense and coping mechanisms between survivors of concentration camps and these who fought in

in ghettoes or with partisans. The latter group displayed more control of impulses and internalization of conflicts. These may be interwoven with both mode and content of communication with their children.

It can be assumed that for these who fought against depersonalization, whose war-time reality offered more opportunities for maintaining some of their human pride and dignity, the past is easier to bear and to share.

It may be expected that the differences in war-time experiences have differential long term consequences that may be crucial in parent-child interaction, specifically in the ability and willingness of the survivors to share with their children some of their experiences and feelings about the Holocaust. These in turn may be expected to have a diffenential effect on the children's knowledge about and attitudes toward the Holocaust. To investigate these questions a distinction is made in the present study between two groups of survivors; those who have been actively fighting the Nazis and those who survived the concentration camps.

Method

The Sample consists of (a) fifteen married couples of ex-partisans and fifteen married couples of concentration camp survivors (i.e., each of the parents has been at least one year in a concentration camp) and (b) the descendants of these two groups; eight sons and seven daughters in each group, all first born after World War II in Israel. The two samples were matched in terms of the country of origin of the parents - all born in Poland.

Procedure. The technique employed in this study was a structured interview conducted with each member of the family separately. The interviewer was a trained female clinical psychologist.

Measures

The domain of communication on the subject of the Holocaust was addressed in terms of both some of its processes and some of its outcomes.

The process of communication was referred to in terms of the legitimacy vs taboo of the subject of the Holocaust and the perceived motives for approaching or avoiding this subject. The questions were derived from books and oral reports of survivors and their children (e.g., Epstein 1979, Mostysser 1975) and related among other things to (A) the frequency of parents talking and children asking about the Holocaust, (B) the exposure to the Holocaust by means of books, movies, plays, and (C) the perceived motives for asking and talking or avoiding the subject. The interview was conducted in a way which allowed the respondents to give as many reasons as they chose for communicating on the subject of the Holocaust and/or for not communicating. Thus dependent measures of content and frequency were obtained. Specifically in addition to comparisons between the study groups in terms of content of their answers, they were also compared on the frequencies in which they related to the questions of communication vs

avoidance.

Since the interview was conducted with each of the parents and with the descendants separately, the data contains the behaviors and motivations of the parents and their children as perceived by each one of them. The internal consistency of the questionnaire was established by means of item-total Pearson's correlations. The correlations ranged from r = 0.49 to r = 0.83.

Based on the assumption that communication transmits knowledge, the descendants knowledge about the Holocaust has been chosen as one of the indices of the quantity and quality of communication on the subject of the Holocaust. Two measures of descendants knowledge have been developed.

Knowledge of parental biography was obtained by asking each of the descendants to freely describe his/her father's and mother's personal history. The answers were then scored by the interviewer by means of a standard list of questions divided into pre Holocaust, Holocaust and post Holocaust periods, (11, 8, and 7 questions respectively), e.g., What kind of a child was the parent? Where exactly was he/she during the war? What were her/his fears? How did the parents meet?

The score for each question ranged from one to three, with a higher score reflecting better knowledge. The maximal score for the pre Holocaust period was 33, the Holocaust period 24, the post Holocaust period 21.

Knowledge of objective facts about the Holocaust was assessed by seventeen open ended questions derived from history text books ued in Israeli high schools e.g., What were the Nurenberg laws of 15.9.1935? What was the "final solution"? Each question could be scored from one to three with a higher score relecting more knowledge.

Attitudes towards survivors

Communication transmits not only knowledge but also beliefs and attitudes.

Hence, the other outcome of communication measured in this study were the attitudes and beliefs of the children of the survivors towards the Jews who experienced the Holocaust. This area was assessed by an instrument based on Klein (1974) consisting of twelve statements on which the interviewee had to indicate agreement on a five point scale. Five negative and seven positive statements about the Jews in the Holocaust were included, (e.g., "They passively resisted the Nazis", "They were blind to the reality"). Since the statements relate to different content areas, each statement was treated as a separate variable. Item-total Pearson's correlations ranged from r = 0.41 to r = 0.84.

Results

The Legitimacy of the Subject of the Holocaust

As expected, the Holocaust was perceived as a more legitimate subject for conversation in the homes of the partisans than in those of camp survivors. More direct communication and deliberate exposure to the subject were expressed by all the members of ex-partisan families when compared with the camp survivors and their descendants. Specifically, ex-partisan fathers and mothers reported sharing their past, talking about the Holocaust, reading history books, and seeing movies and shows related to the Holocaust more than the parent who survived the camps (most of the differences are significant at the p .05 level, see table 1).

Similarly, the descendants of partisans reported more than their counterparts the verbal (x = 3.06 and 2.46 respectively, p .05) and non-verbal (x = 3.60 and 2.60 respectively, p .05) presence of Holocaust at home and their perception of parents as talking about it (x = 3.73 and 3.06 respectively, p .05). They also report that they have asked their parents about the Holocaust more than the offsprings of concentration camp survivors (x = 3.40 and 3.13 for

mothers and 3.53 and 2.33 for fathers respectively, p .05).

Moreover, partisan parents more than parents who survived the concentration camps, reported that they directed their children to read books, and see films and shows on the subject of the Holocaust. (See Table 1.)

In sum, the results clearly indicate that the legitimacy of the subject of the Holocaust varies by the nature of the Holocaust experience of the survivors.

Insert Table 1 about here

The deliberate effort to expose the next generation to the subject of the Holocaust decreases with generations. The parents, both partisans and camp survivors, report doing it more than their descendants report planning to do with regard to their own children (i.e., grandchildren of the survivors) x = 3.67 and 1.03 respectively, p .001). Related to this is the finding that while two thirds of the parents declined to be in touch with Germany (e.g., visit there, purchase German goods), two thirds of the descendants are willing to establish these kind of relations.

With regard to perceived motives for approaching or avoiding the subject of the Holocaust, the expected differences between the two groups were found only in the pattern of their choices. Specifically, all the partisan parents chose to give reasons for reading books, for watching movies and shows about the Holocaust. None of the partisans chose to give reasons for avoiding the subject, whereas half of the concentration camp survivors did so. A similar picture emerges in responses to questions referring to talking on the subject of the Holocaust of both the survivors and their descendants.

No differences were found between the two groups of survivors and their descendants with regard to motives for sharing or avoiding the subject of the

Holocaust.

"To remember and not to forget" was the reason most frequently given by parents, both survivors of the camps and ex-partisans, for talking (about 80% in both groups), reading (about 70% in both groups), and being otherwise exposed to the Holocaust. The second generation also perceived that their parents told them about the Holocaust so that they remember and not forget. However, they gave this reason not as frequently as their parents did (about 45% in both groups). Parents' perception of their children's motives for asking about the Holocaust matches closely that of the children. "To learn about my mother's/father's past" was the reason most frequently given by all the respondents (46%, 35%, 25% for mothers, fathers, descendants, respectively) closely followed by "To hear and not to forget" (25%, 27%, 20% for mothers, fathers, descendants, respectively). Another reason mentioned frequently by the descendants was "To try to understand what happened" (32%).

There is a correspondence between the mother's perception of herself and the son's or daughter's perception of her as not talking about the Holocaust; thirteen mothers and fourteen descendants related to the question of mother's silence on this subject. There is no such correspondence in the case of the fathers; while only eight fathers gave reasons for not talking about the Holocaust, sixteen of the descendants chose to explain their fathers' silence on this subject. This finding may indicate that fathers more than mothers deny not having talked with their children about the Holocaust. Mothers seem to rationalize their difficulties in talking about the Holocaust; while more than a third of the descendants expressed their belief that their mothers did not talk because it was too painful for them, only three mothers gave this as an answer. Reasons given by mothers related to the possible difficulties, not of their own, but of their children e.g., "I did not talk in order to protect

my child from pain".

The Knowledge about the Holocaust

As expected, and in line with the results relating to the legitimacy of the subject, descendants of the partisans displayed better knowledge of objective facts about the Holocaust than did the descendants of the concentration camp survivors ($x = 44.2$ and 37.7 respectively, $t = 4.14$, $p < .01$). The same is true with regard to knowledge of parental history during the Holocaust. Their knowledge about both the mother and the father exceeds that of their counterparts ($x = 21.8$ and 18.5, $p < .05$, and $x = 21.6$ and 17.0, $p < .05$ for mothers and fathers respectively).

Systematic, although non significant differences in the same direction were found between these two groups of descendants in their knowledge of their parents' biography before and after the Holocaust. All these differences relate to knowledge of facts about parents' past. With regard to questions referring to parent's past feelings, the knowledge displayed by the children of ex-partisans did not differ from that of their counterparts.

Attitudes towards the survivors of the Holocaust

The attitudes of the descendants clearly reflect the patterns of communication on the subject of the Holocaust of their parents. As expected, the sons and daughters of the partisans expressed significantly more positive attitudes toward the survivors than their counterparts whose parents were in concentration camps. The more positive attitudes were reflected by agreement with positive statements about the survivors of the Holocaust e.g., "The Jews of the Holocaust were heroes" ($x = 3.33$ and 2.13, $p < .05$), "There was mutual help among the Jews" ($x = 3.93$ and 3.33, $p < .05$) and by disagreement with negative statements e.g., "The Jews of the Holocaust were blind to reality" ($x = 2.73$ and 1.93, $p < .05$), "In order to stay alive the Jews had to behave in an immoral way" ($x = 3.80$

and 2.86, p .05). (See Table 2.) There are no differences between the two groups of descendants in the distribution of feeling towards the survivors. Shame, anger, sympathy or pride are as frequently expressed by the sons and daughters of ex-partisans as by those of ex-prisoners of concentration camps. Most of the descendants of the partisans (11) expressed pride in being a son/daughter of their parents while only few (5) of their counterparts did so.

Insert Table 2 about here

The effects of the Holocaust as perceived by the children of the survivors

At the end of the interview session an open question was asked of each of the descendants about the effects of the Holocaust on their parents. The answers, even though not quantifiable, provided some intuitive first hand impressions of the survivors as parents. Most of the descendants mentioned their parents' ill health, both physical and psychological. Most frequently mentioned symptoms were nervousness (especially of the mother), constant tension, lack of patience, anxiety, nightmares, and fear of the future. In relation to themselves, the children described their parents as over-anxious, fearful that what happened to them may happen to their children, and as using their children to fulfill their own needs. This last point is highlighted by the following statement made by one of the descendants: "I always feel that they want me to achieve all the things they were deprived of".

Content analysis of free conversations between the interviewer and the individual members of the family, provided additional information and emphasized the differences between the two groups of survivors. The most striking impression is the expressed and manifested willingness to talk about the Holocaust in the families of the partisans and unwillingness or inability to do so in the

families of survivors of the camps. The main motifs in the families of partisans are the pride of having been a partisan, and of having partisans as parents. There is an emphasis on heroism and on the strength and cohesiveness of parental networks, which go way back to the Holocaust.

The motifs in the families of camp survivors are the taboo on the Holocaust created by the parents and accepted by the children, the mutual caution and over-protectiveness of children and parents on Holocaust-related subjects and some embarrassment in having survivors as parents.

Discussion

The results presented above clearly illuminate the expected differences between the children of partisans and those whose parents went through the concentration camp experience. Moreover, they indicate that the differences found in the second generation reflect the differential responses of the two groups of parents. The basic issue on which the parents differ is the extent to which they accept the Holocaust as a part of their lives to be shared with their children. Partisan-parents not only talk about the Holocaust and their personal experiences more than camp survivor-parents do, they also deliberately expose themselves and their children to this topic by means of books, movies and shows. Their approach is clearly reflected in that of their offsprings who not only feel the subject of the Holocaust to be legitimate, but also know about it, both in terms of history and of parental biographies more than their counter-parts - descendants of concentration camp survivors. Not less pronounced are the positive attitudes of the descendants of the partisans towards the survivors in general and their parents in particular, as compared with the uneasiness about having survivor parents, and less positive attitudes toward this whole population expressed by the offspring of camp survivors.

Before discussing the implications of these findings, two methodological issues should be addressed. First, the focus of the present study was on differential communication patterns precipitated by different war-time experiences (i.e., ex-partisans vs. concentration camp survivors). Hence, the present study did not include a control group of families from a similar socio-cultural background (i.e., pre-war Poland) who did not directly experience the Holocaust. Yet, future research should direct itself to this issue for a more thorough understanding of the processes involved. Second, whether the observed differences are an exclusive result of differential war time experiences or also a reflection of pre-existing environmental/circumstantial differences (e.g., familial status at outbreak of war, age, availability of an active fighting organization, the speed with which deportation to camps were carried out) can not be answered methodologically and remains open for speculation.

The major issue to be discussed are the implications for the second generation of the patterns of communications found in the two groups of survivors and of their differential outcomes in terms of the descendants' knowledge about, and attitude toward, the Holocaust. These may be related to the realms of identity, interpersonal relations in general and to parental roles in particular.

Certain facets characterisitic of the families of concentration camp survivors may cause difficulties in the process of child-parent identification. The child in this case has to surmount the difficulty in identifying with much which is unknown, as there exists relative lack of actual knowledge of the parental past. Moreover, what is known conveys much suffering and victimization, with which it may be very threatening to identify.

The mutual overprotectiveness described by the children of camp survivors may lead to confusion in parent-child role differentiation, thus further adding to the difficulties in identification. Not less detrimental to this process may be

the negative attitudes of this group of descendants toward the survivors of the Holocaust; a group which their parents represent. In addition, the parental intrusiveness and control, the offspring's lack of privacy and feeling that they live their parent's life, all reported by this group, may seriously impair the second generation's ability for individuation and reaching one's separate identity.

These problems seem not to exist for the descendants of the ex-partisans. Their attitudes toward the survivors of the Holocaust are positive; the role structure in their families is not confused by mutual overprotectiveness and they know well their parents past.

Even though the past of a hero may not be easy to identify with, it seems to be less threatening than identification with a victim. Moreover, adopting an identity of activity and coping is adaptive in society more than the identity of suffering and degradation.

Based on developmental theories, e.g., Erickson (1968), one may assume that these parent child patterns of relating may be generalized to interpersonal relationships. In the descendants of concentration camp survivors, among others affected may be attempts to reach out, role relations in general, and with authority figures in particular, as well as autonomy-dependency difficulties and acceptance and expression of affects - especially aggression.

These effects may become more acute during the upheaval of adolescence as there appears to be clinical evidence to this effect (De Graaf, 1975). However, the most critical impact may be manifested when the descendants reach adulthood and establish their own families. Thus the problems may not be limited to the direct descendants but transmitted throughout generations.

Returning to the issue of sharing or passing on the experience of the Holocaust, it seems that all the parents believe that it should be told in its totality. The self expectancy to tell, to pass on, may be closely related to

one of the styles of coping characteristic of the Holocaust: survival for the purpose of "bearing witness and showing the world what happened" (Dimsdale, 1974 p. 407). It is impossible to know if the will to bear witness was more prominent among the partisans than among concentration camp prisoners during the Holocaust. However, our results clearly indicate that these two groups differ in the extent to which they use this style at present.

Another coping style that distinguished the ex-partisans from camp survivors, both in the past and the present, is "group affiliation" which not only provides advice and protection, but is also important in strengthening the person's sense of worth and individuality (Jaffe 1963, Dimsdale 1974). Being a partisan was synonymous with being a member of a group, whereas the reality of a concentration camp provided considerably less opportunities for such affiliation. The close intimate relations originating in the partisan groups continue in the present and are clearly perceived by the descendants. The probability for a concentration camp survivor to have as his group of friends, people who have been with him in the concentration camp is much smaller. Not many survived. Hence, it seems that for the camp survivors not only were the past sufferings greater, but there is also no release of tension and anxiety in the present by means of talks with family and friends.

Another dimension common to the two groups of descendants, refers to some discrepancy between affect and cognition, possibly more so in the children of the partisans.

In the realm of knowledge, children of partisans displayed more factual knowledge, however their knowledge about their parents' feelings in the past was as limited as that of their counterparts.

In the same vein, even though the children of the partisans expressed more positive attitudes towards the survivors of the Holocaust than those expressed

by the descendants of concentration camp survivors, there are no differences between these two groups in their expressed affects towards the people who experienced the Holocaust.

This may be related to the two forms of difficulties in communication on the part of the parents, described in the introduction. While silence may be more pervasive in the families of concentration camp survivors, and free flow of verbal communication in the families of ex-partisans, a blunting of affect appears to appertain, although not to the same extent, for both.

The children also may find it less threatening to relate to the cognitive rather than the emotional aspects of the Holocaust

Since the parent is the representation of the Holocaust and its survivors, the acceptance and expression of affect which may be negative towards the survivors of the Holocaust may be felt as endangering the very basis of existence.

To conclude, the implications of this research are both conceptual and applied. First, on the conceptual theoretical level, the data may contribute to a better understanding of the communication processes characteristic of survivor populations and their families, and their developmental impact. In addition, the findings emphasized the need to consider the dimensions of the mode of coping with traumatic experiences in future research. Secondly, from the applied perspective, the general question of the effect of massive psychic traumatization on its survivors' behaviors as parents, is applicable to many victim populations (e.g., Vietnam refugees, the Biafran experience). Moreover, from the point of view of mental health, the availability of the findings to practitioners may provide them with workable concepts for more guided interventions with these populations.

Table 1

The Legitimacy of the subject of the Holocaust; comparison between the reports of mothers and fathers who have been partisans with those of the survivors of concentration camps.

	Mothers			Fathers		
	Ex-Partisans N=15	Camp Survivors N=15		Ex-Partisans N=15	Camp Survivors N=15	
	x	x	t	x	x	t
1. I told my child about the Holocaust	4.06	3.26	2.91**	3.87	3.33	1.87+
2. My child asked about the Holocaust	3.60	3.00	1.66	3.40	2.91	1.27
3. I was glad when my child asked about the Holocaust	4.53	3.84	2.65*	4.27	4.25	.07
4. In our home we talk about the Holocaust	3.87	3.27	1.83+	4.06	2.93	3.36**
5. There is a non-verbal presence of the Holocaust in our home	3.73	2.80	2.16*	3.93	2.73	2.99**
6. I read books on the Holocaust	2.73	2.13	1.16	2.80	1.93	1.87*
7. I read history books on the Holocaust	3.53	2.20	3.52**	3.53	2.13	3.51**
8. I watch films and shows on Holocaust	3.73	2.20	3.30**	4.06	2.13	5.06**
9. I directed my child to read books and see films and shows on Holocaust	4.33	2.73	3.09	4.20	3.26	1.89+

+ p 0.10

* p 0.05

** p 0.01

Table 2

Attitudes towards the survivors of the Holocaust[1]

	Descendants ex-partisans $\bar{X}$	Descendants concentration camp survivors $\bar{X}$	t values
The Jews of the Holocaust were heroes	3.33	2.13	3.47*
The Jews of the Holocaust sacrificed themselves for their friends	2.67	2.47	.41
There was mutual help among the Jews	3.93	3.33	2.30*
There was cohesiveness and organisation among the Jews	3.60	3.06	1.40*
The Jews of the Holocaust passively resisted the Nazis	4.00	3.60	1.15
The Jews of the Holocaust maintained their humanity	3.53	3.46	16
The Jews were blind to the reality	2.73	1.93	1.99*
The Jews had no choice but to act as they did	3.20	2.46	1.68*
The Jews had to behave in an immoral way	3.80	2.86	2.08*
The Jews lived according to "carpe diem"	4.27	3.27	2.24*
The Jews collaborated with the Nazis	4.47	4.07	1.63*
The Jews went like "sheep to slaughter"	4.33	3.00	3.35*

[1] A higher score reflects in all the cases a more positive attitude

* p 0.5

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